

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 SS-15 NSC-06 AID-01 /032 W
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FM AMEMBASSY MANILA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6789
INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MANILA 00375

FOLLOWING TEL ACTION BANGKOK JAN 5 RPTD FOR YOUR ACTION/INFO:

QUOTE

MANILA 00375

FOR CODEL NUNN

E.O. 12065: GDS 1/6/79 (MAISTO, JOHN) OR-P
TAGS: OREP, MARR, RP
SUBJ: CODEL NUNN'S MEETING WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS

REF: MANILA 00373

1. THE FOLLOWING REPORT WAS NOT SEEN BY CODEL PRIOR TO ITS DEPARTURE. REQUEST CODEL ADVISE JANUARY 7 WHETHER IT WISHES AMEND TEXT. OTHERWISE WILL ASSUME NO OBJECTION TO ITS FURTHER DISTRIBUTION.

2. SUMMARY. CODEL MET FOR 75 MINUTES WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS JANUARY 5. MARCOS RECIPROCATED PRESIDENT CARTER'S PLEASURE CONVEYED BY CODEL RE PROGRESS OF BASE TALKS AND
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EXPRESSED HOPE US CONGRESS WOULD GIVE "GO SIGNAL" TO AGREEMENT. MARCOS SAID HE BELIEVED VIETNAM-CAMBODIA SITUATION WOULD BE CONTAINED AND CITED EXISTENCE OF SOVIET AIRCRAFT PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT. CODEL EMPHASIZED THAT RAPID MOVEMENT IN HUMAN RIGHTS AND "NORMALIZATION" IN PHILIPPINES WILL HELP IN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL OF BASES AGREEMENT. MARCOS DEFENDED HIS

GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND SAID END OF INSURGENCY IN SOUTH WILL GIVE OPPORTUNITY TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW; HE EMPHASIZED ELECTIONS IN TWO AREAS OF SOUTH ARE PREFERABLE TO LIFTING MARTIAL LAW. END SUMMARY.

3. CODEL (SENATORS NUNN, GLENN, HART, COHEN PLUS STAFF) ACCOMPANIED BY AMBASSADOR MET WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS FOR 75 MINUTES AFTERNOON JANUARY 5. MINDEF ENRILE, SOLICITOR GENERAL MENDOZA, ARMED FORCES CHIEF OF STAFF ESPINO, PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY CHIEF GENERAL FIDEL RAMOS, AND DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF FOR INTELLIGENCE GENERAL IGNACIO PAZ SAT IN; ONLY ENRILE PARTICIPATED. INTERCHANGE WAS VERY FRIENDLY AND FRANK COVERING BASE NEGOTIATIONS, VIETNAM-CAMBODIA SITUATION; SEA SECURITY SITUATION; ASEAN; PHILIPPINE INTERNAL POLITICAL SCENE; HUMAN RIGHTS. (RE LATTER, MARCOS PRESENTED CODEL WITH TWO LATEST MINISTRY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE PUBLICATIONS, DATED JANUARY 1979, ENTITLED "ADVANCEMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES" AND "THE CASE AGAINST BENIGNO S. AQUINO, JR.")

4. AT OUTSET SENATOR NUNN TOLD PRESIDENT MARCOS THAT HE AND SENATOR GLENN BROUGHT A PERSONAL MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT CARTER EXPRESSING PRESIDENT CARTER'S PERSONAL BEST WISHES, HIS PLEASURE OVER THE PROGRESS IN THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS, AND HIS CONCERN, WHICH HE WANTED TO SHARE WITH PRESIDENT MARCOS, OVER THE VIETNAM-CAMBODIA
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SITUATION. PRESIDENT MARCOS RECIPROCATED PRESIDENT CARTER'S GOOD WISHES, AND STATED THAT HE TOO WAS HAPPY ABOUT PROGRESS OF BASE TALKS, NOTED THAT HE HOPED TO MEET HIS CHOSEN JANUARY 7 DEADLINE FOR THE EXCHANGE OF NOTES, AND HIS HOPE THAT US CONGRESS WOULD GIVE "GO SIGNAL" TO BASE AGREEMENT. PRESIDENT MARCOS SAID HE GATHERED THAT CONGRESS WAS BEING KEPT INFORMED OF TALKS; SENATOR NUNN RESPONDED THAT CODEL HAD RECEIVED A THOROUGH BRIEFING THAT MORNING.

5. VIETNAM-CAMBODIA. FOLLOWING HIS REVIEW OF LATEST DEVELOPMENTS--THAT CHINESE HAD ASKED THAIS FOR "PASSAGE THROUGH" (NOT FURTHER SPECIFIED) THAILAND AND THAIS GAVE IT, AND VIETNAMESE ARE WITHIN 70 KMS OF PHNOM PENH WITH ALL BUT NORTHWEST AREA CUT OFF--MARCOS ADDRESSED PHILIPPINE CONCERN OVER A WIDENING CHINESE ROLE, INCLUDING VIETNAM-CHINESE BORDER CONFLICTS. MARCOS SAID NEVERTHELESS THAT HE BELIEVED SITUATION WOULD BE CONTAINED, THAT THAIS HOPE TO MAINTAIN THEIR BORDERS AND DO NOT BELIEVE VIETNAM WILL ENGAGE IN EXPANSIONIST POLICIES AFTER THE GOAL OF AN INDOCHINESE FEDERATION IS ACHIEVED, BUT THAT THE OLD FEAR OF A STRONG, WELL ARMED VIETNAM IS

HARBORED BY ALL COUNTRIES OF THE AREA. IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR NUNN'S QUESTION ON SOVIET INVOLVEMENT AND ENCOURAGEMENT, MARCOS CITED EVIDENCE THAT VIETNAMESE AIR ATTACKS "USED SOVIET AIRCRAFT." MARCOS RECALLED THAT HE ASKED PHAM VAN DONG "POINT-BLANK" IF VIETNAMESE HAD GIVEN RUSSIANS USE OF VIETNAMESE FACILITIES. MARCOS SAID THAT DONG OFFERED HIM PHOTOGRAPHIC EVIDENCE THAT SHOWS THAT CAM RANH BAY HAS NOT BEEN DEVELOPED BY THE VIETNAMESE; HE UNDERLINED THAT DONG "WENT OUT OF HIS WAY TO PROVE TO ME THAT FLEET COULD NOT POSSIBLY BE SERVICED OUT OF CAM RANH BAY." ASEAN COUNTRIES NEVERTHELESS REMAINED CONCERNED THAT THE VIETNAMESE EXPERIENCE GAINED IN CAMBODIA CAN BE USED ELSEWHERE.

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6. ASEAN. IN RESPONSE TO QUESTIONS RE A POSSIBLE ASEAN

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 MANILA 00375

FOR CODEL NUNN

MILITARY ALLIANCE AND A LARGER DEFENSE ROLE FOR ASEAN, MARCOS SAID THAT THIS HAS NOT BEEN ADDRESSED AND THAT ASEAN CANNOT AFFORD A LARGER DEFENSE ROLE BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS. CONFIRMED THAT MILITARY

TOPICS WERE ROUTINELY ON ASEAN SUMMIT AGENDAS. HE ALSO STATED THAT THE IMPLICATIONS OF ASEAN SOLIDARITY IN MILITARY TERMS CAN HARDLY BE IGNORED, AND HE SPOKE OF COMMON PATROL ACTIVITIES BETWEEN THAILAND AND MALAYSIA AS WELL AS INDONESIA AND MALAYSIA AIMED AT LOCAL INSURGENCY, AND OF JOINT "PATROL AGREEMENTS" BETWEEN THE PHILIPPINES AND INDONESIA. RE ASEAN VIEWS ON BASE AGREEMENTS, MARCOS SAID HE HAS NOT TOLD THE ASEAN COUNTRIES THE DETAILS, BUT THAT THEY ARE WAITING TO KNOW WHAT KIND OF PRESENCE THE US WILL KEEP IN SEA COUNTING ON OUR CONTINUED PRESENCE.

7. BASE AGREEMENTS, HUMAN RIGHTS, AND MARTIAL LAW. SENATOR GLENN, IN EXPRESSING HIS VIEW THAT BOTH THE US AND THE PHILIPPINES WILL BENEFIT FROM A BASE AGREEMENT AMENDMENT, NOTED THAT THERE WILL BE SOME CONGRESSIONAL OPPOSITION BASED SOLELY ON THE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTION. CONFIDENTIAL

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CITING RECENT DETAINEE RELEASES AND OTHER "NORMALIZATION" TYPE DEVELOPMENTS, SENATOR GLENN EXPLAINED THAT IF GOP WERE ABLE TO MOVE AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE IN THESE AREAS, SUCH CRITICISM WOULD BE BLUNTED. SENATOR NUNN, SECONDING SENATOR GLENN'S REMARKS, ADDED THAT "VISIBLE MOVEMENT TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS WILL HELP." PRESIDENT MARCOS THANKED SENATORS FOR FRANKNESS AND RESPONDED WITH DEFENSE OF HIS GOVERNMENT'S HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD, SPECIFICALLY DENYING CHARGES THAT HAVE BEEN MADE OF TORTURE AND ILLEGAL ARRESTS AND DESCRIBING DISMAL PICTURE IN PHILIPPINES PRIOR TO MARTIAL LAW. ASSERTED THAT OVER 2000 MILITARY PERSONNEL, ALL RANKS, HAVE BEEN PURGED FOR REPORTED ACTS OF BRUTALITY AND GRAFT, MANY STILL FACING CHARGES.

8. WHEN SENATOR GLENN PRODUCED COPY OF JANUARY 4 WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL ON MBA AMENDMENT (WHICH CRITICAL OF HIS REGIME), MARCOS ASKED "ISN'T THIS TO SELL NEWSPAPERS?" MARCOS PROCEEDED, WITH PRODDING OF CODEL QUESTIONS, TO EXPLAIN THAT ELECTIONS IN TWO AREAS OF SOUTH (REGIONS IX AND XII) ARE PREFERABLE TO LIFTING MARTIAL LAW IN SELECTIVE AREAS. CLAIMED END OF INSURGENCY WILL GIVE OPPORTUNITY TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW NATIONWIDE, BUT PROMISED STUDY OPTION OF SELECTIVE LIFTING. HE REVIEWED HISTORY OF SECESSIONIST MOVEMENT IN SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES AND COST TO HIS GOVERNMENT, DAMNED QUADHAFI (BUT ADMITTED THAT HIS SUPPORT FOR MUSLIMS IN SOUTH HAS DIMINISHED OVER LAST YEAR OR TWO) AND EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN THAT THE SECESSIONISTS ARE NOW TYING UP WITH THE COMMUNISTS. THE SOLUTION FOR THE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH, HE ASSERTED, IS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE AREA. MARCOS ALSO ARGUED THAT AMERICANS ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY ALIVE TO THE REALITY OF THE THREAT THAT CAUSED HIM TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW. HE SAID

THAT THE PHILIPPINE GOVERNMENT WAS CAUGHT OFF GUARD BY THE
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INSURRECTION IN THE SOUTH, AND THAT HE HAD DECLARED
MARTIAL LAW FEARING "A BANGLADESH SOLUTION" TO THE PHILIP-
PINE PROBLEM. HE SUPPORTED HIS ARGUMENT FOR THE INTENSITY
OF THE CONFLICT BY MENTIONING THAT OVER 2000 AFP SERVICEMEN
HAVE DIED IN THE CONFLICT, AND THAT HALF A MILLION
CIVILIANS HAVE BEEN DISPLACED.

9. SENATOR COHEN, NOTING CHANGES IN SITUATION IN
PHILIPPINES SINCE HIS LAST VISIT IN 1973, ALSO REFERRED TO
CRITICISM IN HOUSE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS AND EMPHASIZED NEED
TO SHOW EXAMPLES OF PROGRESS. HE NOTED THAT CRITICS WILL
SAY THAT SOME KIND OF RATIONALE CAN ALWAYS BE FOUND TO
JUSTIFY MARTIAL LAW. MARCOS AGREED WITH COHEN.

10. SENATOR GLENN SUGGESTED THAT PRESIDENT MARCOS WOULD
FAVORABLY IMPRESS THE CONGRESS IF HE WOULD SUPPLY A LIST
OF DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS THAT WOULD BE FUNDED BY MONEY
COMING TO THE PHILIPPINES THROUGH THE BASES AGREEMENT
ESPECIALLY THAT UNDER ESF. MARCOS MENTIONED THAT THE
COUNTRY ALREADY HAS A 5-YEAR AND 20-YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN--
WHICH HAVE BEEN SUPPLIED TO THE EMBASSY. HE CAUTIONED
THAT THE GOP COULD NOT AFFORD TO GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT
IT WAS BEING DICTATED TO BY THE US, BUT CITED LAND REFORM,
TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER AND EFFORTS TO STEM RURAL MIGRATION
AS AREAS WHERE EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE AND WHERE OUR
ASSISTANCE WOULD BE BOTH WELCOME AND APPRECIATED.

11. SENATOR GLENN ASKED PRESIDENT MARCOS WHETHER HE
WAS WORRIED ABOUT THE CURRENT PHIL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS
DEFICIT. MARCOS PREDICTED THAT THE 1979 BALANCE OF
PAYMENTS WOULD BE POSITIVE FOR THE PHILS, THOUGH THE
BALANCE OF TRADE "WILL TAKE LONGER TO MITIGATE." HE
CITED PRICE DECLINES IN SUGAR AND METAL ORES, AND SAID THAT
THE PHILIPPINES HAD BEEN FORCED TO STOP EXPORTING LOGS IN
ORDER TO PRESERVE MINIMAL FOREST COVER. SENATOR GLENN

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AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 MANILA 00375

FOR CODEL NUNN

BROUGHT UP THE IDEA THAT SURFACED AT THE WASHINGTON ASEAN
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SUMMIT THAT THE ASEAN NATIONS OUGHT TO FORM A TARIFF UNION.
MARCOS PROMISED THAT HE WOULD REMIND HIS FELLOW ASEAN PRIME
MINISTERS OF THIS PROJECT WHEN THEY WERE ON THE PHONE
"WITHIN A FEW HOURS" TO DISCUSS THE CAMBODIAN SITUATION.

12. US-PRC NORMALIZATION. MARCOS SAID NORMALIZATION
ALLOWS ASEAN COUNTRIES TO SPEND MORE ON ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT INSTEAD OF SECURITY. HE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT
CHINESE WILL DEVELOP INTO A MORE MODERATE PARTNER, AND
IN OTHER COMMENTS INDICATED HIS APPROVAL OF US INITIATIVE
TO NORMALIZE.

13. HOMEPORTING AT SUBIC. SENATOR HART ASKED ABOUT
POSSIBILITY OF HOMEPORTING A US CARRIER AT SUBIC. MARCOS
RESPONDED "SUBIC AND MANILA HAVE BEEN USED TO RECEIVE YOUR
CARRIERS" AND THAT PHILIPPINE PANEL IN NEGOTIATION
PRESUMED THAT CARRIERS WOULD HARBOR AT SUBIC IF
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NECESSARY. MARCOS AND ENRILE, IN RESPONSE TO SENATOR
HART'S FOLLOW-UP QUESTION, BOTH STATED THAT GOP HAS NO
PROBLEM WITH HOMEPORTING OF A US CARRIER. MURPHY

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